

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY

VOL. 47 No. 7

182

FEBRUARY 15, 1954

WHOLE No. 1173

CONTENTS

P. W. HARSH: The Role of the Ghost of Cicero in the Damnation of Antony . . . 97

L. B. LAWLER: Bee Dances and the "Sacred Bees" . . . 103

Reviews . . . 107

B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought* (Kirkwood); M. Pohlenz, *Plutarchi Moralia*, VI. 2 (De Lacy); G. Pasquali, *Storia dello spirito tedesco nelle memorie d'un contemporaneo* (Wassermann).

Notes and News . . . 109

The preliminary announcement of the C.A.A.S. Spring Meeting, New York City, April 23-24, appears on page 109.

THE ROLE OF THE GHOST OF CICERO IN THE DAMNATION OF ANTONY

In the dramatic events which accompanied the death of the Roman Republic and the birth of the Empire, ghosts played some of the leading roles, and, as we might expect, it was not the ghosts of the men of action—Pompey and Caesar—who were the most effective, but the ghosts of the men of ideas—Cato and Cicero.² Cato was hardly cold in his grave when Cicero began writing an encomium upon him (*A.* 12.4.2), and soon afterwards Cicero wrote a similar work on Cato's sister Porcia.³ Cicero's friend, M. Fadius Gallus, also, wrote a similar work on Cato (*F.* 7.24.2). So did M. Brutus, who had married Cato's daughter and thus was almost obligated to do so.

¹ The following abbreviations (besides the conventional ones) are used:

A.: Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*

F.: Cicero, *Letters to His Friends*

SH: Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 14 (Munich 1927), II 4 (*ibid.* 1935), III 3 (*ibid.* 1922).

Syme: Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939).

I am grateful to Mr. C. L. Babcock of the University of California, Berkeley, for reading this paper and offering various helpful suggestions. My indebtedness to the editor, Professor Edward A. Robinson, is even greater.

² Perhaps an overstatement. The ghost of Caesar played a very important role, especially with the legions immediately after his death. Cf. Syme 127.

³ *A.* 13.37.3 (45 B.C.). There is dispute over the identity of this Porcia; cf. *SH* I 446; K. Büchner, *RE* VII A 1272 (s.v., M. Tullius Cicero). Compare the role of Cato in *De Finibus*.

In the work of Brutus, however, Cicero's services in the conspiracy of Catiline were understated, in the opinion of Cicero (*A.* 12.21.1), and those of Cato were exaggerated. Brutus, it seems, refused to correct errors of fact, except the most glaring, and this served to bring out a certain antipathy between Brutus and Cicero that remained throughout their lives. The final judgment that seems warranted from their correspondence is that during all the centuries that the Junii bore the cognomen Brutus, there was never one individual to whom this derogatory appellation was more aptly applied.

Caesar's reactions to the encomia of Cato written by Cicero and Brutus have been recorded in a letter of Cicero to Atticus (*A.* 13.46.2): "A great deal about my *Cato*. He says that he has read it repeatedly and not without profit to his own literary ability, though reading Brutus' *Cato* merely confirmed his good opinion of his own style." If this annihilating criticism of Brutus ever reached that gentleman's ear, his resolution to slay Caesar is more readily understandable. Caesar, of course, had not missed the point of all this praise of Cato, or underestimated its importance.⁴ Indeed, he sat down at Munda and wrote his *Anticato*—"duo Caesaris Anticatones," as Juvenal (6.338) puts it. Caesar's right-hand man, Hirtius, also wrote a similar work, but with great praise of Cicero, (*A.* 12.40.1), which was perhaps both a genuine expression of his own opinion and also

⁴ Cf. Syme 459.

a subtle effort to please Cicero and possibly a reminder of the unkindness of Brutus.⁵

When the Ides of March came in 44, the ghost of Cato was certainly playing a leading role, and Caesar might well have quoted a line of Aeschylus (*Cho.* 886):

τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω.

Cicero gave the dead Caesar little more time to rest than he had given the dead Cato. In the following June, we find Cicero writing to Atticus: "I am very anxious to help Brutus in any way in which I can" (*A.* 15.3.2.). He goes on to deplore Brutus' own feeble *oratumcula*, and to point out that no help can be given on this point—Brutus stubbornly and stupidly refused direct editorial assistance. But Cicero promises to speak and to write a great deal in the proper time and manner. Cicero kept this promise, especially by writing various philosophical treatises, which, like those of the immediately preceding years, are such masterly works of art that we are prone to overlook the fact that they had for Cicero something more than a philosophical purpose.⁶ It would be sacrilege to call them propaganda, so far removed are they from the crudity and offensiveness of almost all that is deliberately produced in the modern world with a political purpose. The most effective works produced with a political purpose, however, are those which, like these works of Cicero, have true intellectual content and artistic beauty.

The *De Amicitia*, written in 44 B.C., perhaps in the summer, is a no less charming tribute to Cicero's friend-

⁵ This presumes that Hirtius had read the work of Brutus. Cicero saw the work of Hirtius in May, 45 (*A.* 12.40.1); Brutus' work was under revision in March (*A.* 12.21.1). Much later, the emperor Augustus undertook a reply to the work of Brutus (*SH* II 11).

⁶ In general, the political purport of the philosophical works of Cicero has not been duly recognized. Cicero himself at times understated this purport. Thus in a letter to Servius Sulpicius (*F.* 4.3.4), Cicero stresses the welcome distraction from political grief which his pursuit of philosophy affords him, and Tyrrell and Purser remark that this is a plain statement of the motive from which Cicero composed his philosophical works (cf. Philippon in *RE* VIIA 1183). Not so. Cicero here distorts the facts in order to console his friend, or more properly, merely neglects to state all the facts. It is obvious that he did find a great and profound pleasure in philosophy—his own works in the field would not have been successful if he had not. Soon after Thapsus, however, Cicero expresses to Varro his determination "et scribere et legere politicas" (*F.* 9.2.5; cf. *A.* 16.5.2). On the political aspects of the *Brutus*, see E. A. Robinson, "The Date of Cicero's *Brutus*," *HSCP* 60 (1951) 137-146.

If one reads all the extant works of Cicero from this period with the political situation in mind, he cannot fail to be impressed by the courage of Cicero in speaking out against Caesar and by his audacity in repeatedly suggesting to Brutus the role of tyrannicide (*Brutus* 332; *Tusc.* 1.88-89, etc.).

⁷ Cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 31.15; Horace, *Odes* 2.1.4. Charlesworth (*CAH* X 12) sees "a certain irony" in the reflection that Cicero, while working feverishly on the *Second Philippic*, found time to polish and complete the *De Amicitia*. But there is no irony if one looks more closely at the essay.

⁸ *F.* 12.22.1; cf. *Ad Brutum* 9.18.3 (Sjögren; = 1.10.3).

ship with Atticus and to the ideals of friendship in any age because it is also an answer to the specious reasoning of Matrius (*F.* 11.28; August, 44) and of many another who falsely reasons that loyalty to a man or to a party comes before loyalty to an ideal or to the State (cf. *Phil.* 2.1-7). The very word *amicitia* had political connotations,⁷ and we can be sure that none of the implications concerning true patriotism which are included in the essay was lost on Cicero's contemporaries. Similar in their implications are various passages in the *De Officiis* (especially the third book), which Cicero began writing in the autumn of 44. A main theme of this work had been adumbrated by Cicero years before in his condemnation of Caesar's action against the state: "Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas?" (*A.* 7.11.1).

Cicero did what he could, but as time went on, in his darker moods, at least, he could not help realizing the inequality of his struggle with Antony: . . . *contra arma verbis*. . . .⁸ The *arma* won, but his murder, like the death of Cato, did not remove his personality from the stage of action. One of the first to exorcize his ghost

THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY is published weekly from mid-November for sixteen issues, except for any weeks in which there is an academic vacation. Volume 47 contains issues dated November 9, 16, 30; December 14 (1953); January 4; February 1, 15; March 1, 8, 22, 29; April 5, 26; May 3, 10, 17 (1954).

Owner and Publisher, The Classical Association of the Atlantic States. Place of publication, Fordham University, 441 East Fordham Road, New York 58, N. Y.

General subscription price, \$3.75 per volume in the Western Hemisphere; elsewhere \$4.25. Price to members of the C. A. A. S., \$3.25. All subscriptions run by the volume. Single numbers, to subscribers, 20 cents, to others, 30 cents prepaid (otherwise 30 cents and 40 cents). If affidavit to invoice is required, 60 cents must be added to the subscription price. For residents of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, a subscription to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY (or, alternatively, to the *Classical Journal*) is included in the membership fee of the C. A. A. S.; whose members may also take *Classical Outlook*, *Classical Journal*, and *Classical Bulletin* at special prices in combinations available from the Secretary-Treasurer of the C. A. A. S., Eugene W. Miller, 3328 Cathedral of Learning, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Reentered as second class matter December 14, 1950 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 28, 1925 authorized December 14, 1950.

STAFF

EDITOR

Edward A. Robinson..Fordham University, New York 58, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Lionel Casson.....New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

Philip Mayerson.....New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

William H. Stahl....New York University, New York 53, N. Y.

Waldo E. Sweet.....University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

effectively was the Caesarian Sallust in his *Catiline*. Now the purposes of Sallust in treating this subject have been endlessly argued.⁹ Probably Sallust's chief objective in producing the work was to publish an effective piece of historical writing and thus raise the status of Sallust. Unmistakably it was a splendid subject, offering a fine opportunity of presenting a great duel between the most picturesque antagonists of the day, Caesar and Cato. The political sagacity of Caesar, the intransigence of Cato, the courage and patriotism of Cicero—what more could a historian with a flair for the sensational desire? The recent deaths of all these figures invited an appreciation of their roles in a crucial incident of their careers, especially since the ghost of Cato—a simpler and so more tractable ghost than that of Cicero—had recently been storming so conspicuously across the scene, and since Brutus' treatment of the conspiracy had been so inaccurate, and doubtless inadequate. The conspiracy of Catiline, as another chapter in the long story of civil strife of the age, invited a broader interpretation; its relation to the disorders and violence under Sulla should be brought out, the corruption of the aristocrats, and the dissatisfaction of certain elements.

Concerning the motives of Sallust, Broughton¹⁰ remarks: "The natural conclusion to be drawn is that Sallust wished to be fair but had some reason for doing so by stealth." Now there is one uncertain tradition that Terentia, the divorced wife of Cicero, was the wife of Sallust.¹¹ Perhaps Sallust's wife was the reason! But a far more likely reason for Sallust's being fair by stealth is that such an attitude towards Cicero played directly into the hands of Octavian. Duplicity is one of the great assets of politicians, especially dictators, and duplicity on the subject of Cicero could and did yield Octavian splendid results. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to suggest, therefore, that Sallust foresaw the coming struggle between Octavian and Antony. If he did, he must have foreseen, also, that a cautious exorcism of the ghost of Antony's great enemy, Cicero, would not be unwelcome to Octavian.

To understand the literature of the years 43-31 B.C., we must understand the attitude of Octavian towards Antony. Unquestionably Octavian in 43 felt that he could not exact vengeance for the death of Julius and thus establish himself without the aid of Antony. But after the tyrannicides were out of the way, clashes were inevitable between Octavian and Antony, and they quickly came. During some of this period Octavian officially, at least, maintained a considerable show of friendliness.

But from the beginning, there was an attitude of growing contempt, sometimes suppressed, sometimes open: witness Octavian's grossly indecent verses concerning Antony and Fulvia (Martial 11.20), and his lost gross verses against Pollio.¹² Incidentally, Fulvia is one of the Republican prototypes for the great political women of the Empire. She, too, had a record as an enemy of Cicero, for she had been the wife of his earlier enemy, P. Clodius. So the one ghost of Cicero could be used to slay both Fulvia and Antony. Officially, Octavian seems to have remained hostile to Cicero, as the story of his surprising his grandson reading Cicero attests.¹³ But another story, the one that Octavian made heroic efforts to save Cicero from Antony when the Second Triumvirate was formed, attests that the "party line" was not really unfavorable.¹⁴

Well, then, Sallust's work, whatever his purposes may have been, actually served as a curtain raiser for Octavian's drama, *The Damnation of Antony*. This, of course, was a very elaborate production, and many of the acts had no connection with Cicero. We have already mentioned Octavian's verses—epigrams were well established in Roman politics. Letters of Antony abusing Octavian appeared,¹⁵ and later, shortly before Actium, a document concerning his drunkenness.¹⁶ These, forged or genuine, testify that a campaign of propaganda was being waged. We know also that Messalla wrote attacks upon Antony, including one upon his letters.¹⁷

¹² Macrobius 2.4.21 (*temporibus triumviralibus*). On the propaganda of Octavian at this time and later, see K. Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B. C.," *MAAR* 11 (1933) 7-49; cf. Moses Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York 1930) 104: "Of all the ancients Octavian was the most consummate artist in the astute use of publicity. . . ." Equally subtle and clever with the use of Cicero's name was the use of various other material, such as Antony's will, genuine or forged. The provisions of the will which were the most damaging in Italy were flattering to Cleopatra and the East; and immediately before Actium, Antony could hardly afford to deny them publicly. Similarly his pose as Dionysus was as damning in the West as it was flattering in the East. Octavian took full advantage of all this. See, also, Syme 208, n. 1; 234; 256; 291.

¹³ Plutarch, *Cic.* 49. On the stories of Fulvia's hatred of Cicero, see Hartvig Frisch, *Cicero's Fight for the Republic* (Copenhagen 1946) 304.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Cic.* 46. A. Oltramare, "La réaction cicéronienne et les débuts du principat," *REL* 10 (1932) 75, thinks it is very unlikely that Octavian tried to save Cicero.

J. Carcopino (*Les secrets de la correspondance de Cicéron* [Paris, 1947]) contends that the letters of Cicero were published by Octavian in order to damn Cicero. The best refutation of this thesis is, first, that Cicero was not in fact damned in the eyes of his contemporaries, and secondly, that Octavian did not really wish him so. Carcopino may be right, however, about the date of the publication of the letters.

¹⁵ Tacitus, *An.* 4.34.5.

¹⁶ Pliny, *N. H.* 14.147-8; cf. *SH* I 388; Cicero, *Phil.* 2.63, and *passim*. Cf. K. Scott, "Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's *De Sua Ebrietate*," *CP* 24 (1929) 133-141.

¹⁷ *SH* 2.24.—Messalla's allegiance to the party of Octavian is not attested before 36 (Syme 237, n. 5). Agrippa had already married Pomponia, daughter of Atticus (Syme 238).

⁹ Cf. E. Schwartz, "Die Berichte über die catil. Verschw.," *Hermes* 32 (1897) 554-608, esp. 577; T. R. S. Broughton, "Was Sallust Fair to Cicero?" *TAPhA* 67 (1936) 34-36; M. Laistner, *The Greater Roman Historians* (Berkeley 1947), esp. 56-57; Hugh Last, "Sallust and Caesar in the 'Bellum Catilinae,'" in *Mélanges* . . . J. Marouzeau (Paris 1948) 355-369.

¹⁰ Broughton (work cited in note 9, above) 43.

¹¹ So Jerome, but this is doubted by *SH* I 363.

One curious phase of the activity in favor of Antony concerns the astrologers and magicians, who were a chief export product of Alexandria and the East. An unknown Greek prophesied that Cleopatra, after overthrowing Rome, would reconcile Europe and Asia and inaugurate the reign of Justice and Love.¹⁸ Astrologers and magicians were banished from Rome in 33 and 21 by Agrippa.¹⁹ Similar banishments occurred repeatedly in later times, and sinister political implications in such activity are a commonplace.²⁰ Certain Romans were put to death for having horoscopes reflecting upon the emperor and consulting fortunetellers concerning the life of the emperor.²¹

But the ghost of Cicero appeared again and again in this drama. Many of these appearances were natural and spontaneous ones. After all, the most effective propaganda is the plain truth. We should expect much from his intimates, regardless of the attitude of the strong men of the day. The faithful Tiro, of course, wrote a lengthy *Life of Cicero*.²² Another freedman, Tullius Laurea, who wrote Greek and Latin verse, has left us a charming epigram on Cicero:²³

Quo tua, Romanae vindex clarissime linguae,
silva loco melius surgere iussa viret
atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam
nunc reparat cultu sub potiore Vetus,
hoc etiam apparent lymphae non ante repertae
languida quae infuso lumina rore levant.
nimirum locus ipse sui Ciceronis honori
hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope,
ut, quoniam totum legitur sine fine per orbem
sint plures oculis quae medeantur aquae.

The *Imagines* of M. Terentius Varro, published in 39,²⁴ may have included, along with the "strait-laced Catos" a portrait and notice of Cicero. This would not seem unlikely, especially since Antony had attempted to put Varro to death, also, and since Cicero and Varro, though no real love was lost between them, had recently dedicated literary works to each other.

Cornelius Nepos, also, wrote a *Life of Cicero*. Perhaps from another work of Nepos there is preserved a fine tribute. After sketching Cicero's great achievement of perfecting Latin oratory and developing philosophical writing in Latin and after pointing out that history alone was left rude and unpolished at the death of him who alone was able to do it justice, Nepos remarked: "I hesitate to say, therefore, whether at his death the Republic or History should grieve the more."

And again, "Richly endowed and one of a divine nature was Cicero, and to increase our admiration for him and make us all the more indebted to him, he had no desire to hand over everything to one man or to deny everything to any man."²⁵

The poet Cornelius Severus wrote a work on the Sicilian War (38-36 B.C.) which contained, it seems, a passage still extant on the death of Cicero. The fierce hatred of Antony here expressed suggests that this work was published in the later thirties.²⁶ During such a dangerous period, no writer would have dared publicly to express such hatred of Antony and praise of Cicero unless Octavian was unopposed to such pronouncements. We can easily believe the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 6.25) when he says that of all the eloquent men who celebrated the death of Cicero none surpassed Cornelius Severus.²⁷

Oraque magnanimum spirantia paene virorum
in rostris iacere suis; sed enim abstulit omnis,
tamquam sola foret, rapti Ciceronis imago.
tunc redeunt animis ingentia consulis acta
iurataeque manus deprensaeque foedera noxae
patriciumque nefas extinctum: poena Cethegi
deiectusque redit votis Catilina nefandis.
quid favor aut coetus, pleni quid honoribus anni
profuerant? sacris exculita quid artibus actas?
abstulit una dies aevi decus, ictaque luctu
conticuit Latiae tristis facundia linguae.
unica sollicitis quondam tutela salusque,
egregium semper patriae caput, ille senatus
vindex, ille fori, legum ritusque togaeque,
publica vox saevis aeternum obmutuit armis.
informes volut sparsamque cruore nefando
canitiem sacrasque manus operumque ministras
tantorum pedibus civis proiecta superbis
proculcavit ovans nec lubrica fata deosque
respexit. nullo luet hoc Antonius aevo.
hoc nec in Emathio mitis victoria Perse,
nec te, dire Syphax, non fecit <in> hoste Philippo;
inque triumphato ludibria cuncta Iugurtha
afuerunt, nostraeque cadens ferus Hannibal irae
membra tamen Stygias tulit inviolata sub umbras.

But this poet was not the only one, and indeed not the first to speak in such terms of Cicero. The elder Seneca

²⁵ *HRR* (ed. H. Peter), p. 40 (frag. 17). Cf. E. A. Robinson, "Cornelius Nepos and the Date of Cicero's *De Legibus*," *TAPA* 71 (1940) 524-531.

²⁶ Cf. *SH* II 268-9. Cornelius' phrase, *patricium nefas*, reminds one of the attitude of Sallust.

The date, authorship, and reference of *Catalepton* 3 (Vergilian Appendix) has long been subject to debate. (For a recent thorough discussion, in which the poem is thought to refer to Pompey, cf. R. E. H. Westendorp Boerma, *P. Vergili Maronis Libellum qui inscribitur Catalepton* [Assen, Holland 1949] 41-72.) But surely this poem precisely fits Antony and only him; it follows the tradition of Sextilius Ena and Cornelius Severus and becomes the spirit of 30 B.C. The spirit of the poem (esp. *grave servitium* [5]) is quite improper to the spirit of Caesar's victory over Pompey or of Augustus' attitude towards Pompey. Cf. Pierre Grenade, "Le mythe de Pompée et les Pompéiens sous les Césars," *REA* 52 (1950) 28-63.

²⁷ *FPL* (Morel), pp. 118-9, from Seneca, *Suas.* 6.26. (For commentary, see William A. Edward, *The Suasoriae of Seneca the Elder* [Cambridge 1928].)

¹⁸ Tarn in *OCD* 202.

¹⁹ *CAH* X 474, 481.

²⁰ Cf. Juvenal 6.558-9; Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.22. Many other instances could be cited.

²¹ *CAH* X 730-1.

²² Cf. *SH* I 548. Somewhat similarly, Lenaeus, freedman of Pompey, defended his dead patron. Cf. Suetonius, *De Gram.* 15; Syme 250, n. 3.

²³ *FPL* (Morel), p. 80, from Pliny *NH* 31.8.

²⁴ *SH* I 562-3.

suggests that one of these lines of Severus is an improvement upon the opening line of a poem by Sextilius Ena:

deflendus Cicero est Latiaeque silentia linguae.

Severus had been present at Ena's *recitatio* in the House of Messalla, presumably in the early or middle thirties. Present, too, says Seneca, was Asinius Pollio, the onetime "ambassador" of Antony at Rome and one of the few who was now openly hostile to Cicero.²⁸ Pollio was much displeased by Ena's praise of Cicero and, presumably, the censure of Antony implied, and interrupted the proceedings by saying: "Messalla, it is your privilege to decide what will be spoken in your house; as for myself, I will not listen to one who denies that I can speak." Whereupon Pollio walked out—the immemorial privilege of ambassadors.

This anecdote very nicely illustrates the point that within the decade after Cicero's death, praise of Cicero was heard publicly and was inevitably interpreted as denunciation of Antony. It seems likely that Antony and his supporters in the East took cognizance of all this. The leading Alexandrine scholar of the day, the "bronzegutted Didymus," as he was dubbed because of his indefatigable scholarship, wrote six books on the Politics of Cicero, possibly an attack on the *De Re Publica*, but more likely an attack on Cicero as statesman, and the very plausible suggestion has been made that this polemic was inspired by Antony.²⁹

By the time of Cornelius Severus and his denunciation of Antony and dire predictions, obviously the third act of the Damnation of Antony had been reached. It was a long play indeed. But nowhere did the ghost of Cicero appear more effectively and more deliberately introduced than at the end of the fifth act in 30, when Octavian made Cicero's son his colleague in the consulship. As such, according to Plutarch (*Cic.* 49), the younger Cicero saw the statues of Antony overthrown.

²⁸ Asinius Pollio is for Syme (217) "the most honest of men" (cf. Syme 6), but the elder Seneca calls him a liar (*Suas.* 6.15). We pass over his protestations of loyalty to the Republic (made to Cicero in his letters) and his later going over to Antony: even an honest man on occasion has to trim, unless he wishes to die as Cicero did. (Eventually, of course, Pollio became neutral.)

In view of what Seneca says, Syme (485) is seen to be writing nonsense when he speaks of Pollio's "loathing of the exuberant insincerity of public oratory. . . ."

Pollio may well have been piqued by the fact that he was never included among the Atticists in the treatises of Cicero and as a man of letters he was inevitably vastly overshadowed either by Cicero or the ghost of Cicero. Cf. J. André, *La Vie et l'œuvre d'Asinius Pollio* (Paris 1949) 94, and, on Pollio's oratory, 67-79.

²⁹ *SH* III 60. Various others wrote in behalf of Antony and against Octavian; cf. Scott in *MAAR* 11 (1933) 48.

Various actions of Cicero undeniably were subject to moral censure, especially his refusal to allow the Catilinarians a fair trial. But Cicero's violation of the "constitution" here was so slight and so salutary in comparison with the actions of both the First and the Second Triumvirate that many of his contemporaries (but never, of course, the Caesarians) easily forgave him for it.

The son of Cicero had none of his father's arts, according to the elder Seneca,³⁰ except urbanity. We can be quite sure, therefore, that Octavian chose him at this time, as the younger Seneca intimates,³¹ wholly because of his name and its implications: the ghost of Cicero was being given his merited vengeance on Antony, and that same *tota Italia* which had thronged to welcome Cicero back from exile in 57 was being given notice that Octavian's regime honored and respected the name of Cicero, the champion of the great middle class of Italy, from which both Cicero and Octavian had come.

After an ancient tragedy, in order to restore the carnival spirit, there was often presented a farcical after-piece, and so we shall now add one with the younger Cicero as the hero. He had gone to Asia as proconsul, perhaps in 29-28 B.C. At dinner one evening his guests included a certain Cestius. As usual, young Cicero was putting his one virtue to excessive use. He had little memory even on the rare occasions when he was sober, and this evening he had none, and could not remember the name of this certain guest. His confidential slave after innumerable reminders, finally in a desperate effort to impress the name upon his master's memory, said, "That is Cestius, the man who says your father was no man of letters." At this the insolent governor and loyal son demanded his whip, and proceeded to inflict a lashing upon his unfortunate guest.³²

Cicero's later reputation was tremendous, both as a patriot and as a man of letters, though it is now the fashion of some modern historians to depreciate his political stature. Various scholars have pointed out the absence of his name from the Augustan poets. It is true, perhaps, that Augustus never publicly recanted beyond appointing the younger Cicero as his fellow consul upon his victory over Antony and saying that Cicero was a lover of his country. But we moderns have now been well schooled in the way of dictators. We know that Cornelius Severus, Sextilius Ena, Cornelius Nepos, and the great Livy, as well as the host of minor litterateurs cited by the elder Seneca, could never have sung the praises of Cicero as they did if Augustus had really wished to silence this very widespread refrain. For all these men, Cicero is a hero and a martyr in the cause of freedom against tyranny.³³

³⁰ Seneca, *Suas.* 7.13.

³¹ Seneca, *De Ben.* 4.30.

³² This story comes from Seneca the Elder, *Suas.* 7.13.—In the light of these *suasoriae* of Seneca, it is difficult to follow Michael Grant (*From Imperium to Auctoritas* [Cambridge 1946] 385) in his opinion that it would have been politically inadvisable to strike a coin with a portrait of the orator Cicero under Augustus.

³³ The elder Seneca (*Contr.* 7.2.13) on the debate concerning Popilius' slaying Cicero, who had once defended him, says that Romanus Hispanus (a *delator*, Tacitus, *An.* 1.74) was the only declaimer who attacked Cicero. Again, Seneca (*Suas.* 6.12) says: "Alteram partem pauci declamaverunt. nemo ausus est Ciceronem ad deprecandum Antonium hortari; bene de Ciceronis animo

One must not forget, too, that from the day Sallust published his work, Catiline was a villain, and the very mention of his name is praise of Cicero. This is plain from Severus. When Vergil, a friend and client of Pollio, in the fifth book of the *Aeneid* depicts Sergestus, "from whom the house of the Sergii takes its name" (5.121), coming to grief in the boat race through intemperate rashness, and when Vergil consigns Catiline to a menacing cliff in Tartarus (8.668) with Cato as his judge, the shade of Cicero, though discreetly kept in the background, is unmistakably present. The failure of the Augustan poets to mention Cicero by name is to be accounted for by various considerations. The first is the position of Asinius Pollio among these poets, for Pollio never gave up his enmity—the existence and possibly the publication of his letters to Cicero declaring his great loyalty to the Republic did not help matters. Another consideration was the ambiguous position of Augustus himself concerning Cicero, and finally, as time went on, the growing conspicuousness of the children of Antony in court circles at Rome. The poets were obviously not as independent as the frequenters of the rhetorical schools.

As time went on, one could speak freely of the distant past. Velleius Paterculus (2.66.5*), apostrophizing Antony, says: "All posterity will marvel at what Cicero wrote against you and execrate what you did against him, and the race of man will perish from the earth sooner than the name of Cicero." Martial cites Cicero along with Cato (and Antony!—2.89) and, again, brackets Cato, Cicero, and Brutus (5.51). Juvenal in a magnificent tribute (8.240-44) says that Cicero in the toga won as much renown as did Octavius with his dripping sword at Leucas and in Thessaly; and that a Rome which was free called Cicero the father of his country.³⁴

indicaverunt." (The *nemo* is not quite true; cf. W. A. Edwards, *ad loc.*) And of Cicero's death, he (*Suas. 6.24*) says that Pollio was the only one who related it *maligne*.

³⁴ Syme attacks Cicero with all the acerbity of a Tacitus and none of the acumen. Syme says (146; cf. 506): "Yet it was precisely in the eyes of contemporaries that Cicero was found wanting. . . ." He refers here specifically to Sallust. In general, however, this sweeping statement of Syme is proved inaccurate by the evidence cited in this present paper. Cf. P. Petzold, *De Ciceronis obrectatoribus et laudatoribus Romanis*, Pars I (Diss. Leipzig 1911), esp. 55-71. Again, Syme (45) in a reference to 49 B.C. says: "... Cicero, pathetically loyal to a leader of whose insincerity he could recall such palpable and painful testimony." The present writer does not believe this: Cicero saw quite clearly the shortcomings and untrustworthiness of Pompey (A. 8.3.3; 8.7.2; 8.11.2); indeed of Caesar and Pompey, he says: "Senseram enim quam idem essent" (A. 10.8.5). He proceeds to predict the downfall of Caesar if he succeeds in making himself dictator, and in this, at least, Cicero made no error. A factor in Cicero's decision was his manly reaction to the veiled and open threats of Antony (A. 10.8A) and Caesar (A. 10.8B), especially the threats of Caesar in the fatal interview between him and Cicero. In this fatal interview, Caesar pathetically misjudged his man and made a

But the best testimony to the reverence with which Cicero was regarded by those who had lost their freedom is found in the way in which they defended him whenever his reputation was challenged. The son of Asinius Pollio wrote a comparison of his father and Cicero in which he preferred the style of Pollio. This called forth a defense of Cicero by the pedant Claudius, later emperor, and reverberations of this preference of Pollio are heard in spirited remonstrances by Pliny the Younger (7.4.3-6) and Gellius (17.1.1).³⁵ It is a little embarrassing here to have to take the side of the Emperor Claudius against such a scholar as Syme, who holds a low opinion of Cicero as man and statesman, but Syme (6) himself vouches for the honesty of Claudius. One Larcus Licinus, also, attacked Cicero in his *Cicero-mastix*.³⁶ Gellius in the same passage joins him with the younger Asinius and labels both as "mad."

The essential reason why many modern scholars take a low opinion of Cicero is this: they assume that Cicero in his political actions was—or at least should have been—trying to pick the winner.³⁷ They wag their heads over his futile attempts to solve practical political problems on philosophical and ethical grounds. Before

complete failure—it is not unlikely, however, that Caesar was that day physically and mentally exhausted. Cicero's final remark on this interview is most revealing: "Credo igitur hunc me non amare. At ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu venit" (A. 9.18.1).

Cicero had two reasons for stressing loyalty to Pompey: he was trying to make palatable to Atticus what Atticus obviously considered an indiscreet decision, and since he was so late in joining the party, he was trying to stress his enthusiasm. A third reason, an unconscious one, perhaps, was that he felt no real moral obligation to be loyal to Pompey! Decisions are difficult for men of thought, especially when the blunders of those who run the world make a decision that is both just and advantageous utterly impossible (cf. A. 10.18.3). And men's rationalizations are often as strange as Antigone's (Sophocles, *Ant.* 904-920). Long before the time of his final decision, however, it is perfectly clear from Cicero's repeated violent denunciations of Caesar's invasion of Italy (A. 7.13; A. 7.18.2; F. 16.12.2) that he will never join that movement. No one ever stated Cicero's predicament better than he did himself: "Ego vero quem fugiam habeo, quem sequar non habeo" (A. 8.7.2). Gelzer (*RE VII A 995*) seems strangely unaware of the location and unimpeachable authenticity of this famous statement.

³⁵ Cf. Quintilian 12.1.22.—It may be objected here that the contention of these writers concerning style had nothing to do with Cicero as a man or as a statesman. It is obvious from the tone of these and other passages, however, that these writers did not hold a low opinion of Cicero as a man. One must not forget, too, that even style often has political connotations, especially with Sallust, Cicero, Pollio, and Livy. Cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 66-68 and 330-332. This is so in various other instances in ancient times. So E. K. Rand (*CAH XII* [1939] 574-575) seems to the present writer to overlook the political element in Fronto's archaistic style: it was the fashion of that age to cultivate the ancient in various aspects of life.

³⁶ *SH II 745*.

³⁷ "Denn darauf beruhten im Grunde alle seine Schwierigkeiten, dass er sich in einer gegebenen politischen Lage als Politiker entscheiden sollte, er aber vor dieser Entscheidung auswich in die

we decide just who is right in this matter, let us take a good long look at the modern world and the result of banishing philosophical and ethical considerations from practical politics.

Cicero in one of his letters (*A.* 2.5.1) says that he is much more concerned about what men six hundred years from then will think of him than he is about the chitchat (*rumusculos*) of his contemporaries. But it was not necessary to wait so long: he was a hero and a martyr in less than ten years after his death.

PHILIP W. HARSH

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

BEE DANCES AND THE "SACRED BEES"

There is in Greek literature a very old, very persistent, and very well documented tradition which connects the bee with mythology and with religious ritual. Many years ago, A. B. Cook¹ published an impressive synthesis of the literary and archaeological evidence for the tradition; and others have contributed studies along similar lines.² We may summarize here only a few of the more significant items in the tradition:

From remote prehistoric times down to the Greco-Roman era, the bee was in the Aegean area a holy creature (Pindar, frag. 123 Loeb, line 9; Petronius 56; cf. Vergil, *Georg.* 4.220-221), associated frequently with a major divinity. In Crete, the cave in which Rhea was believed to have given birth to Zeus was sacred to bees; and legend said that in it bees (or the daughters of King Melisseus) gave nourishment to the divine child.³ According to one story, Zeus himself had a son called Meliteus (Ant. Lib. 13), who was also fed by bees. Some scholars interpret the name of the Cretan divinity Britomartis as meaning "bee-maiden"⁴. The Cretan princess Melissa was said to have been the first priestess of the Magna Mater (Lactant., *Div. Inst.* 1.22), and in later times other priestesses of the cult were said to have been called, for her, Melissai. On the island of Rhodes, two gold plaques were found, on each of which was depicted a figure part woman and part bee, obviously

Asiatic in inspiration, and probably to be associated with the Great Mother.⁵

In Greece proper, we find the people of Delphi asserting that their second temple had been built by "bees" (Paus. 10.5.5); and Pindar (*Pyth.* 4.59-60) calls the priestess of Apollo "the Delphic bee"—an epithet which reminds Cook⁶ of Deborah, the prophetic "bee" of the Hebrews (*Judges* 4.4; cf. Schol. Theoc. 3.13; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* 5.6).

Artemis has a definite association with bees. Her chief priestesses are called "bee-keepers," *melissonomoi* (Aesch., frag. 43 Loeb; cf. Aristoph., *Ran.* 1274). At Ephesus, and probably elsewhere as well, her chief priest was called a "king bee," *essên*.⁷ The Ephesian Artemis herself, as moon and birth goddess, is sometimes called a bee, "Melissa" (cf. Porph., *De antr. nymph.* 18). In fact, Elderkin sees in the whole Ephesian tradition many references to bees. On coins and in art in general Artemis of Ephesus is often associated with, or symbolized by, a bee; and she has cult connections with the Cretan Britomartis.

Whether Aphrodite was associated with bees or not is not completely clear. In a fragment of Pindar (123 Loeb, lines 5-9) there is a reference to Aphrodite and one to "holy bees" in fairly close juxtaposition; and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, line 564, Aphrodite flies to the future mother of Dionysus *melissa d'hoia tis*. A skilled craftsman, traditionally Daedalus (Diod. Sic. 4.78.5), is said to have made for Aphrodite Erycina a golden honeycomb that looked just like a real one; a similar golden honeycomb was found at Cnossus.⁸ Evidently honeycombs were an appropriate offering to the goddess.

In the cult of Demeter and Persephone the association is unquestioned. Priestesses of Demeter were called "bees," Melissai, as the goddess herself on occasion was called a "bee."⁹ The priestess-bees carry pure water in her ritual (Callim., *Hymn. Apoll.* 110-112; cf. Aelian, *Nat. An.* 5.49)—a function which has been likened by some writers¹⁰ to the *hydrophoria* of certain wasp-waisted (or bee-waisted!) therianthropic daemons shown

philosophisch-moralische Sphäre, als ob er die Freiheit besessen hätte, wie ein weltfremder Privatgelehrter nach deren Prinzipien zu wählen."—Matthias Gelzer in *RE* VII A 995. One must admire the courage of Gelzer, however, to speak so frankly in 1939.

¹ "The Bee in Greek Mythology," *JHS* 15 (1895) 1-24.

² E.g., W. Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* (Berlin 1893); Olck, art. "Biene," in *RE*; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II (Leipzig 1913) 421-431; Norman Douglas, *Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology* (New York 1929) 181-186; G. W. Elderkin, "The Bee of Artemis," *AJP* 60 (1939) 203-213.

³ Ant. Lib. 19; Callimachus, *Hymn. Iov.* 48-50; Diod. 5.70; Apollod., *Bib.* 1.1.6-7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 182; Vergil, *Georg.* 4.152; Columella 9.2.3.

⁴ Elderkin (above, note 2), 203-204.

⁵ "Goldplättchen aus Kamiros," signed E.C., *Arch. Zeit.* 27 (1869) 110-112.

⁶ Above (note 1), 5-7.

⁷ *Et. Mag.*, s.v.; Schol. Callim., *Hymn. Iov.* 66; Paus. 8.13.1; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914-1940) I 443. The ancients thought of the queen bee as a "king."

⁸ Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (London 1921-1935) IV 154-155.

⁹ Callim., *Hymn. Apoll.* 110-112; Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* 4.60; Schol. Theoc. 15.94. Discussions as to whether the word *melissa*, when so used, is to be considered as the word for "bee," or rather as coming from *melesthai* or *melissein* (see W. W. Merry, *Aristophanes, The Frogs* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905], Notes, p. 66) are really of little moment; for quite obviously throughout antiquity the title was connected with the bee.

¹⁰ S. Eitrem, art. "Tierdaemonen," in *RE*; cf. Elderkin (above, note 2), 212.

on pre-Greek rings and seals. Servius (*Aen.* 1.430) has a story of a woman named Melissa to whom Demeter revealed her mysteries, and who was torn to pieces by other women, to whom she refused to reveal the goddess's secrets. From her body, according to the legend, Demeter caused bees to be created. Women initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone,¹¹ or celebrating these mysteries, particularly those of the Thesmophoria,¹² are called "bees" or "holy bees." By extension, priestesses in general were called "bees" (*Et. Mag.*, s.v. "Melissa"; Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* 4.60). Persephone herself is given the epithet Melitodes (Theocr. 15.94 and schol.; Porph., *De antr. nymph.* 18).

Bees figure in the legend of Dionysus;¹³ and Jane Harrison¹⁴ saw in the ambiguous lines of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* (552-563) a reference to Melissai in the cult of Dionysus. Zeus changes a beautiful woman named Melissa into a bee (Columella 9.2.3). Bees are sacred to the Muses, who are even said on occasion to have appeared as bees.¹⁵ In metaphor and simile, a poet is often likened to a bee (*Anth. Pal.* 2.69; 7.13; cf. Plato, *Ion* 534B). A nymph named Melissa is said to have discovered honey, and to have taught her fellow nymphs to mix it with water and use it as a drink. From her, bees were called *Melissai* (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.60). Nymphs named Brisai taught bee-culture to Aristaeus. In the cave of the Naiad nymphs on Ithaca there were stone "mixing-bowls and amphorae" in which bees dwelt (*Od.* 13.102-106). Nymphs themselves were sometimes spoken of as *Melissai*, and there are legends of their being changed into bees.¹⁶ Conversely, bees in the chrysalis stage were often called "nymphs" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.16.48).

There is a possibility also that the bee may have had some association with the birth goddess Eileithyia. To this goddess Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.9) applies the adjective *matrôpolos*. The *Lexicon* of Hesychius glosses *mêtrôpolous* as *tas palai Melissas*. Schmidt¹⁷ interprets the gloss further, in a note: "Intellegit Cereris antistites." Whether *Melissai* were priestesses of Eileithyia as well as of Demeter we cannot be sure; but in each case the divinity is associated with motherhood.

It is clear, then, that there is in Greek literature a persistent memory of "sacred bees" or "bee-women" over a wide area in prehistoric Crete, Greece, and Asia Minor.

They are usually associated with prophecy, mysteries, and song, and with the cults of various female divinities or supernatural beings, most of whom bear some relationship to, attend upon, or inherit the functions of, the great nature goddess of prehistoric Crete and Asia Minor.

Although some of the literary references cited are obviously metaphorical, yet there seems little doubt that real women, not imaginary beings, are indicated in many of the passages which refer to the "sacred bees." That raises the question as to whether in ritual observances the women were costumed fancifully as bees, or whether, on the contrary, their designation as "bees" was purely figurative. In my opinion, there is a strong likelihood that, in early times, at least, the priestesses called "sacred bees" may in some cult ceremonies have worn costumes suggestive of the insect.

There is a great mass of evidence for ritualistic animal mummery of many kinds, performed by masked or unmasked worshippers clad in animal skins or disguises, for all the Mediterranean lands in ancient times.¹⁸ Also, there are found in Minoan art a great number of creatures part animal and part man, and also of "daemons" wearing the skins of animals over their heads and upon their backs, and in many cases having human hands and feet. Some of the creatures are actually garbed fantastically as bees.¹⁹ Many scholars regard these composite beings as votaries, engaged in ritual dance-mummery. We know that the dance played a great part in the religious ceremonies of the Cretans, and such mummery would not be alien to them. Certainly throughout the whole of the Greek period there was much animal mummery, in costume, in the cults of such divinities as Artemis, Despoina, Apollo, etc.

It may well be that by classical times the costume of the bee-priestesses and bee-votaries had become largely symbolic. However, if one be inclined to doubt the practical feasibility of an attempt to garb a human being as an insect, he need only consider the chorus in such plays as the *Gall-Flies* of Magnes, the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, the *Ants* of Plato Comicus, and, above all the *Bees* (*Melittai* or *Melissai*) of Diocles.

One other point has a bearing in this connection. It has been established by students of religion that genuine legends in which a human being is transformed into an animal are evidence for prehistoric animal cults, with accompanying mummery. We recall here the story that Zeus changed a woman into a bee (Columella 9.2.3), and also the legend of the creation of bees from the body of a woman (Serv., *Aen.* 1.430).

¹¹ Hesychius, s.v. "Melissai"; Pindar, frag. incert. 158 Schröder, and Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* 60; Porph., *De antr. nymph.* 18.

¹² Cf. Cook, *Zeus* (above, note 7) III 1083.

¹³ Cook (above, note 7), 6-7.

¹⁴ *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge 1922) 442-443.

¹⁵ Himerius, *Or.* 10.1; 28.7; Philostr., *Imag.* 2.8.6; Varro, *R.R.* 3.16.7.

¹⁶ Hesychius, s.v. "orodemiades"; Schol. Pind., *Pyth.* 4.60; Porph., *De antr. nymph.* 18.

¹⁷ Mauricius Schmidt, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon* (Jena 1858-1862) III, s.v.

¹⁸ E. Sjöqvist, "Die Kultgeschichte eines cyprischen Temenos," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 30 (1933) 308-359 and especially 345-347; Lillian B. Lawler, "Dancing Herds of Animals," *CJ* 47 (1952) 317-324; also "Pindar and Some Animal Dances," *CP* 41 (1946), 155-159.

¹⁹ Adolf Furtwaengler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig and Berlin 1900), Pl. II, 32.

If we grant, then, that there may actually have been in prehistoric times in Greek lands some form of ritual mummerly or dance by women costumed as "holy bees," can we gain any knowledge of what the performance may have been like?

As we have seen, Jane Harrison (and other writers, to a lesser extent), laid much stress on lines 552-568 of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* as depicting the ritual of the three Thriai of Mt. Parnassus, whom she identified as Melissai, bee priestesses. She called particular attention to the poet's statement that they are winged (line 553), that their heads are sprinkled (554) with white barley-meal (to simulate pollen),²⁰ that they are associated with prophecy (556), that they "flit" from one place to another (558, 563) and feed on honey-combs (559), that they "rave in holy madness," *thyiôsin* (560), as do the Thyiades. "They hum and buzz," she says,²¹ "swarming confusedly." Evelyn-White²² thinks that possibly they "are here conceived as having human heads and breasts with the bodies and wings of bees"; and Allen, Halliday, and Sikes²³ believe that the Rhodian plaques support this view. Miss Harrison recognizes the song of the Thriai as the *thriambos*, a "confused, inspired, impassioned" song akin to the dithyramb (cf. Suidas, s.v. "thriambos"); and although the Thriai are generally spoken of as "nurses" (*trophai*) of Apollo, and although in the Hymn Apollo bestows them upon Hermes (line 564), she sees in them attendants of Dionysus.

This identification of the three "maidens" of the Homeric Hymn with frenzied bee-priestesses is certainly not a positive one. It is interesting, nevertheless. In connection with it we might note persistent mention in ancient literature of man's use of honey in prehistoric times, before he had wine, to produce intoxication or ecstasy (cf. Porph., *De antr. Nymph.* 16). Ecstasy or "possession" is characteristic of both animal dances and rituals associated with prophecy.²⁴ It is particularly common, of course, in the worship of Dionysus, Apollo, and the Great Mother.

A few years ago the late Ernst Riess published in this journal²⁵ a brilliant emendation of a corrupt gloss in Hesychius, s.v. "botrydia." "... Or a dance," he reads, "of the women celebrating the Thesmophoria, in which they danced *botrydon*, holding to one another, [lined up] to resemble a bunch of grapes." He interpreted the arrangement as: one dancer in the first row, two in the

second row, three in the third row, etc., in a triangular grouping of fifteen (a chorus of fourteen plus one leader), suggesting a cluster of grapes, thus:

```

* * * * *
  * * * *
    * * *
      * *
        *

```

He accepted studies of the present writer which pointed to the use of "pictures" in the dance—patterns made by the dancers from time to time, as they stood for a moment or two so that spectators might see the formation clearly. One of these "pictures" in both the Cretan dance and the dance of Greek women celebrating the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone seems to have been "the lily";²⁶ and Riess believed that "the bunch of grapes" was another. He scanned the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes carefully for a likely place in which a "grape-shaped" dance figure of this sort might have been used. He found none that was entirely satisfactory, but he rather looked with favor on lines 988-1000, as containing a reference to Dionysus.

I believe that Professor Riess was on the right track; but I think that the allusion in the adverb *botrydon* is not directly to *grapes*, but rather, as in *Iliad* 2.87-90, to *bees* swarming in clusters that *look like* bunches of grapes. In other words, one of the figures of the dance of the women at the Thesmophoria was a grouping that resembled bees swarming—which in turn, as the ancients remind us repeatedly (Vergil, *Georg.* 4.558; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.18.55; Columella 9.9.7), resemble a bunch of grapes. This fits in most aptly with the specific statement (above, notes 11 and 12) that women celebrating the mysteries at the Thesmophoria were called "sacred bees." Riess' failure to find a particular place in the *Thesmophoriazusae* where such a dance figure might have been used need not disturb us; for the poet would hardly attempt to present a specific dance figure of the women's mysteries in his comedy.

Within recent years, animal psychologists have spent much time in studying the behavior of bees, among other creatures; and they have presented scientific confirmation of the tradition²⁷ that bees do actually dance. The ancients must have known of this dance. Certainly they were from prehistoric times deeply interested in bees; and they observed them closely, even to the point, in Roman times at least, of making the hives of transparent substances to facilitate study of the insects' habits (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 11.16.49-50; 21.14.80).

The most significant of recent studies of the dance of the bee are those of the Austrian scientist Karl von

²⁰ It is a fact that certain Greek priestesses did whiten their hair with flour. T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936) 347, assemble the pertinent references.

²¹ Harrison (above, note 14), 442.

²² Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homica* (London and New York 1914) 403.

²³ (Above, note 20), p. 347.

²⁴ Cf. Geoffrey Gorer, *Africa Dances* (London 1935) 49-50, 221-222.

²⁵ "Hesychiana," *CW* 37 (1944) 240.

²⁶ Lillian B. Lawler, "The Lily in the Dance," *AJP* 63 (1944) 75-80.

²⁷ Max von Boehn, *Der Tanz* (Berlin 1925) 8.

Frisch.²⁸ After a series of observations over a long period of time, Dr. von Frisch concluded that the honey bee performs two dances—the "round dance" and the "waggle dance." Both are used by workers returning to the hive to report the finding of a good supply of food. If the distance of the food from the hive is less than about fifty meters, says Dr. von Frisch, the worker bee performs a round dance, describing circles about its own axis. The dance is spirited—even wild. The bee throws up its legs as high as it can, and moves in dizzy circles. Other bees at first look on; then the frenzy of the dance seems to communicate itself to them also, and they join in. After the dance, they fly out to seek the food. When, on the other hand, the food supply is farther away, the bee reporting that fact engages in a "waggle dance"; that is to say, it describes semi-circles about its own axis, first turning violently clockwise, then reversing direction and turning counter-clockwise, swinging the body with abandon and vigor. However, the speed and violence of the dance is less if the food is very far away, and it "decreases with the increase in distance." Furthermore, the "waggle dance" is oriented to the direction of the food source "in relation to the relative position of the sun if the dance takes place on a vertical comb, and indicates actual direction if performed on a horizontal comb." Other workers join this dance, too, before flying out; and the hive seethes with their mad "wagging." Not long ago Americans were enabled to see this whirling "waggle dance" of the honey bee, enormously magnified, in a Walt Disney short picture entitled "Nature's Half-Acre."

Many peoples have imitated bees in mimetic dance. The traditional dance of the Hindus has a formalized gesture known as Bhramara, "the bee";²⁹ and a bee figures in the Hindu dance-drama of Sakuntala.³⁰ Even our modern dance theater sometimes shows us a bee dance: New York newspapers of November 15, 1950, e.g., recorded a portrayal of a bee by a dancer in *The Enchanted Mill* of the De Cuevas Grand Ballet Company at the New Century Theater the preceding evening. Folk dances miming the actions of bees survive from mediaeval times to this day in several lands, notably France³¹ and the Scandinavian countries.³² In the latter, the bee dance makes use of a large number of people, representing bees, the queen bee, the hive, and

flowers outside the hive. Whether this particular dance has its roots in classical antiquity or not would be very difficult to determine, since comparatively little scholarly work has been done on the antecedents of the folk dances of Europe. A classical source would not be beyond the bounds of possibility; for a few ancient dances did survive in mediaeval Europe.³³ Also, the influence of classical mythology upon that of the Norse peoples seems definitely established. In the Scandinavian dance we miss the frenzy and the deep religious significance indicated for the ancient bee dance; but those elements would have passed, of course, with the "mysteries" of which they formed a part. More than one of the ritualistic animal dances of antiquity deteriorated into amusing dances, and, finally, into children's games.

It seems entirely possible, then, that the Cretans and Anatolians, and, later, the Greeks, had an appropriate mimetic dance of "bee priestesses," in rituals of deities associated with the bee. Such a dance would have been a vigorous one. It would have included "flying" and "flitting" movements; the unflinging of arms in abandon or invocation; swirling in dizzy circles (here one recalls Cretan paintings of women with hair flying out as they circle rapidly in the dance); half-circles to right and to left, with shaking of the hips; on occasion, a grape-like figure or "picture" representing a swarming cluster of bees, and, probably, similar "pictures" representing lilies³⁴ and other flowers visited by bees; and a mimetic or symbolic portrayal of the feeding of honey to a divine child. Throughout, there would have been much humming, buzzing, or intoning of sacred songs. The dance would probably have been accompanied with cymbals (cymbals were actually found in the Idaean cave),³⁵ and would have increased in frenzy until one or more of the priestesses was seized with the spirit of prophecy, and cried out words of dread import. Performed by "winged," "pollen-dusted" women, perhaps in the secrecy of a celebration of "mysteries," it would have had a powerful effect upon all observers.

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

HUNTER COLLEGE

²⁸ "The Dances of the Honey Bee," *Bull. of Animal Behav.* 5 (1947) 1-32; summarized in *Psycholog. Abstr.* 23 (1949) 1140.

²⁹ P. S. Naidu, "Hastās," *New Indian Antiquary* 1 (1938) 345-361, No. 18 and Fig. 22.

³⁰ Caroline and Charles H. Caffin, *Dancing and Dancers of Today* (New York 1912) 41.

³¹ Germaine Weill, *Gais Refrains du Pays de France* (Paris 1933), "L'abeille," p. 18.

³² Cecilia van Cleve, *Folk Dances for Young People* (Springfield, Mass. 1916), No. 2, "The Bees," pp. 8-9.

³³ Lillian B. Lawler, "Dancing with the Elbows," *CJ* 38 (1942) 161-3; "The Geranos Dance," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 112-130; "Periekkokasa," *AJP* 72 (1951) 300-307; "Dancing Herds of Animals," *CJ* 47 (1952) 317-324.

³⁴ It is significant that the lily served as a basis for a "picture" in the Cretan and Greek dance, that it seems to have been a sacred flower in Crete, and that it is particularly mentioned among the flowers that bees favored; cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 21.12.70.

³⁵ Martin P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (London 1927) 504.

REVIEWS

The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought. By BRUNO SNELL. Translated by T. G. ROSENMEYER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 324. \$5.50.

After several metamorphoses in German—the original appearance of most of its chapters as articles in journals, its first publication in book form in 1946, an enlarged edition in 1948—Snell's *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* now appears in Mr. Rosenmeyer's English translation, with one new chapter, the seventh, "Human Knowledge and Divine Knowledge among the Early Greeks." The book is a series of self-contained essays, but there is a significant thread of continuity: the gradually developing consciousness of the characteristics and powers of the human mind, and the results of this awakening for Greek and later European thought. The line of development proceeds from the Homeric portrayal of man, in which "soul," "mind," and "spirit" are not clearly differentiated from physical organs, and man's acts and perceptions are due to the intercession of deity, through the early lyric poets, who discovered emotional tension and discord and hence the idea of "depth" in the soul, to the dramatists, who first represented action as the consequence of man's deliberate and independent decision, and beyond to the further dimensions of the intellect discovered by the philosophers and others. There are, as one would expect of Snell, valuable literary insights, but the book is not basically one of literary history or criticism; it concerns the origin, development, and expression of concepts. A brief review cannot do justice to its range and sagacity; it is a work of very great value for all who wish to understand the historical progress of Greek thought. One word of caution should be spoken: in a book of this sort the author is likely to make over-sharp distinctions as he proceeds from one stage of development to another, and to deduce from his arguments a good many sweeping generalizations that will not wholly withstand close examination. Snell not infrequently succumbs in this way to the spell of his own logic. We are told, to give just one example, that "there are no divided feelings in Homer" (p. 19), and this is a correct deduction from the argument of Chapter One; but Snell never mentions the common Homeric verb *mermêrizein*, which, in so familiar a passage as *Iliad* 1.189, certainly seems to suggest a division of feelings.

The translation is on the whole good, though a persistent heaviness of diction makes it less readable than it might be; words like "objective," "moralization," "motivation," and even "substantivization" abound, where less cumbersome words would be just as accurate and far more attractive. There are a few disturbing mannerisms of style; the colon is used incessantly, sometimes

where no punctuation is wanted at all (e. g., p. 112, "his work shows us how to interpret Aristotle's word: that poetry is more philosophical than history"), and the emphatic phrase "this effect (purpose, result, etc.), that" is overworked. The effect of heaviness is increased by the crowded page, with heavy black type and narrow margins. But if a translation is to be judged above all according to the clarity and accuracy with which it reproduces its original, Mr. Rosenmeyer's can be called successful. His job was not an easy one, requiring at times a good deal of ingenuity to convey in English the nuances of Snell's minute examinations of meaning.

G. M. KIRKWOOD

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Plutarchi Moralia. Vol. VI, fasc. 2. Edited by M. POHLENZ. Leipzig: Teubner, 1952. Pp. xii, 224. DM 9.

This second fascicle of Volume VI contains six essays, three against the Stoics (*De Stoicorum repugnantibus; Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere; De communibus notitiis contra Stoicos*) and three against the Epicureans (*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum; Adversus Colotem; De latenter vivendo*). Its appearance gives assurance that work is continuing on the new Teubner edition of the *Moralia*, and hope that it will soon be completed. Volume IV of the series was published in 1938; Volume V and the first part of Volume VI have not yet appeared; but current interest in the Stoics and Epicureans fully justified the publication of Volume VI, 2 at the earliest possible date.

Following more recent Teubner practice, Pohlenz has included brief introductions and bibliographies for each group of essays, as well as a general introduction on the manuscripts. His text is a great improvement over any hitherto available, reflecting as it does the extensive work done in recent years not only on Plutarch, but also on the Stoic and Epicurean philosophies. Pohlenz had at his disposal collations of all the more important manuscripts of the essays, and many of his own emendations are excellent. In an Addendum (pp. 223f.) he prints a number of conjectures which R. G. Bury had sent to him, too late for insertion at the proper places.

As Professor Einarson and I have begun a study of the three anti-Epicurean essays for the Loeb Classical Library, we are especially pleased that the results of Pohlenz' work are now available. Having a shorter assignment than his, we plan to do it in greater detail; and we have already found that his edition, excellent as it is, has certain weaknesses. For example, for the essay *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* Pohlenz consulted nine of the twenty extant manuscripts. This sample was adequate for his purposes, but it was not sufficient to permit the construction of a *stemma*.

Consequently he was not aware that one of his nine manuscripts, Monacensis 173 (which he quotes, quite rightly, for the emendations of Victorius that appear in it) was in origin a copy of the Aldine edition of 1509 (see p. vii). Similarly in the essay *De latenter vivendo*, where he used sixteen of the twenty-three known manuscripts, he had no way of knowing that t (Urb. Gr. 100) is descended from γ (Vat. Gr. 139) through an intermediary similar to, and perhaps to be identified with, κ (Laur. 80, 5), a manuscript which he did not examine.

A check of Pohlenz' critical notes against our photo-stats of the manuscripts and other materials reveals some inaccuracies. The following examples are from the first ten pages of the *Non posse suavior vivi*. The inserted word on page 125, line 5, should be credited to Stegmann, the deletion in the following line to Dübner. At 125.19 c and d do not have the omission indicated in the note. At 126.22 the source of the emendation is omitted: it was Xylander; and Xylander made the correction in 132.13 (but *eustatheian* is also found in a sixteenth century manuscript, Scorialensis R-I-5). At 131.16 the emendation assigned to Reiske was anticipated by Victorius. The variant cited at 131.20 is also in X. The last word in line 15, page 133, is a conjecture of Bernardakis for *akymon*, the reading of all the MSS. The second word of line 11, page 131, is an emendation (at least as old as Wyttenbach); the MSS have *metrioiis*.

I add a few examples from the critical notes of the *De latenter vivendo*. At 216.11 (fourth word in line) the accepted reading is found only in g; the note mistakenly implies that it is also in U and H (a similar error is made at 218.19-20). At 218.8 the accepted text is not in g or c, but in y. At 219.4 the reading of y is also in C (also at 221.13, last item, with slight variation); at 223.14 the reading of C is also in y. Page 220 has a rash of errors; g is wrongly reported at 220.7-8 and 220.13, y at 220.15 (last word), and t, γ , and Marc. 248 at 220.20. At 222.1, last word, the accepted reading is not found in any manuscript: it was first proposed by Reiske.

I noticed very few misprints: p. 35.3, first word; p. 55, note to line 10; p. 56.5, sixth word; and p. 127, note to line 12. The corrections of these will be obvious to the reader.

PHILLIP DE LACY

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Storia dello spirito tedesco nelle memorie d'un contemporaneo. By GIORGIO PASQUALI. ("Biblioteca del 'aggiatore," No. 10.) Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1953. Pp. 146. L. 600.

When a traffic accident in July 1952 put a premature end to the life of Giorgio Pasquali, the most many-sided and colorful of the Italian classical scholars, he left, for posthumous publication, this biographical sketch of his

German friend, Ludwig Curtius. This little book is one of the most significant documents of the continuous force of European humanism. It is the Italian reply to Curtius' autobiography, *Deutsche und Antike Welt*, which had contained many fine remarks about Rome as ageless idea and as personal experience and about the Italian character in general as a counterpart to the German. Pasquali rightly sees in these recollections by one of the outstanding Germans of our time, beyond the individual particulars, a representative picture of the German, and the European, mind face to face with the crisis of Western tradition in the age of the *revolt of the masses* and of the *terribles simplificateurs*. Pasquali, as one who had been a student and a professor in German universities better qualified than most of his countrymen to understand the intricacies of the German character, follows the interesting life of the great archaeologist from his youth in Augsburg—*Augusta Vindelicorum*—through his student years to the crowning of his career in the professorships at Erlangen, Freiburg, and Heidelberg and the directorship of the German Archaeological Institute at Rome. The little book discusses also the military and political activities of this genuine humanist who, not satisfied with his unparalleled record as a scholar and an academic teacher and opposed to the ivory tower humanism of the academic world, regarded participation in the cultural, social, and political concerns of his century as his duty.

The notes with which the Italian scholar confirms, rejects, or complements the experiences and statements of his German friend reveal Pasquali's character as well as that of Curtius, and, in a general way, the national traits of both German and Italian humanism. As one might expect, Pasquali deals in detail with Curtius' stay in Rome as a cultural ambassador between the two countries in the critical years from 1928 to 1937, when he tried to oppose to the brittle Berlin-Rome axis of the politicians the ageless cultural axis of the two great peoples in the center of Europe. That this endeavor was not entirely in vain is confirmed by Pasquali's remark: "È rimasto tedesco di nazione e cultura, ma noi lo sentiamo uno dei nostri." But even such a keen and sympathetic observer could not help making some rash generalizations about the Italian people by disregarding regional diversities no less deeply ingrained than those of the Germans. Thus, Pasquali takes exception to some of Curtius' comments while, at the same time, emphasizing his thorough understanding, based on his South German and Roman Catholic background, of Italian unfanatical religion, tolerant scepticism, individualism, family life, craftsmanship, love for age-old local traditions, and other aspects of life and thought—as they still survive in the Italy of of Don Camillo and Peppone.

FELIX M. WASSERMANN

KANSAS WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

NOTES AND NEWS

This department deals with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items is welcomed. Also welcome are items for the section of *Personalia*, which deals with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

The Spring Meeting of the **Classical Association of the Atlantic States**, originally announced (*CW* 47 [1953/54] 76) for a later date, has been advanced to *Friday and Saturday, April 23 and 24*, to avoid conflict with the May 1 meeting of the New Jersey Classical Association. The meeting will be held, as announced, in New York, the Friday sessions at the Hotel Shelton, the Saturday sessions at Hunter College. Room reservations (from \$6.50 single, \$10.00 double) should be sent as soon as possible to the Hotel Shelton, 49th St. and Lexington Ave., New York City; reservations for the Friday evening banquet (\$4.40) and Saturday luncheon (\$2.00) to Prof. E. Adelaide Hahn, Chairman of the Local Committee, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., New York 21, N. Y.

The program, which includes Prof. Gilbert Highet's lecture on "Gilbert Murray" at the Friday evening ban-

quet, is in the hands of the printer and will be published in *CW* about April 1.

The **Classical Association of New England** will hold its forty-eighth Annual Meeting at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, on Friday and Saturday, April 2 and 3, 1954.

The following papers will be presented during the session: "Dictys Cretensis and the Tale of Troy," by Prof. Maurice W. Avery of Williams College; "'A Shot of Oxygen'—A Report of the School and College Study of Admission with Advanced Standing," by Prof. Nathan Dane of Bowdoin College; "Cattle and Slaves in the Minoan Tablets," by Professor Sterling Dow of Harvard University; "Should New England have a Latin Institute in 1955?" by Prof. Mason Hammond of Harvard University; "Aeschylus as Satyr-Playwright," by Mrs. Thalia Phillips Howe of Wellesley, Mass.; "Why is Oedipus called *Tyrannos*?" by Prof. Bernard M. W. Knox of Yale University; "Mountains in Greek History," by Mr. Robert E. Lane of the University of Vermont; "Improvisation of Oral Poetry in Ancient and Modern Greece," by Prof. James A. Notopoulos of Trinity College; "Wisdom and the Epos," by Mr. H. Berkeley Peabody

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

(Summer Session)

SAUL S. WEINBERG, PH.D.
University of Missouri
Director

June 25 - August 5

Cost \$490 includes tuition, board, room, and all expenses on trips to Delphi, Thebes, Eretria, Corinth and the Argolid, Sparta, Mantinea, Olympia, etc.

Cruise Leaders: Professor Rhys Carpenter, of Bryn Mawr College, Professor James S. Constantine, of the University of Virginia, Sir Richard Livingstone, of the University of Oxford, Dr. Louis E. Lord, President of the Bureau of University Travel, Professor Denys Page, of the University of Cambridge, Miss Katherine von Wenck, of Oberlin College.

FOR FULL INFORMATION WRITE DEPARTMENT C

BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL

Newton, Massachusetts

A CRUISE OF GREECE, THE GREEK ISLANDS, ASIA MINOR AND ISTANBUL by specially chartered steamer

Dates—Athens Aug. 17 to Athens Sept. 2

Price \$545

Itinerary will include not only a cruise around Greece, stopping at Itea (for Delphi), Katakolon (for Olympia), and Nauplia (for Tiryns, Mycenae and Epidauros), but also the following islands: Crete (Knossos), Thera, Paros, Naxos, Delos, Tenos, Mykonos, Patmos, Samos, Mytilene and Aegina. In addition the following sites in Asia Minor will be visited: Ephesus, Miletus, Priene, Didyma, Pergamon, Troy, and Istanbul for two days.

of Bowdoin College; "The Pseudo-Ovidian *De Vetula*," by Prof. Dorothy M. Robathan of Wellesley College; Panel on "The Junior Classical League as a Force in American Education"; "The National Organization," by Prof. Van L. Johnson of Tufts College; "The State Federation," by Mr. James F. Looby of *The Hartford Courant*, Hartford, Conn.; "The Local Chapter," by Miss Mildred M. Carrier of Augusta High School, Augusta, Maine.

The annual dinner will take place on Friday evening, and for this occasion members are invited to be guests of Bowdoin College. Following the dinner there will be a reading of Seneca's *Medea* by the Bowdoin College Classical Club.

Teachers and friends of the classics are cordially invited to attend the open sessions of the meeting. Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association, Prof. Claude W. Barlow, Clark University, Worcester 10, Mass.

The Spring Meeting of the **Classical League of the Lehigh Valley** will be held Saturday, March 27, at the home of Prof. and Mrs. Robert C. Horn, 2533 Washington St., Allentown, Pa. Papers will be presented

by Prof. E. B. Stevens, Muhlenberg College, "Remarks on Translation of Classical Poetry," and Prof. J. A. Gaertner, Lafayette College, "*Gratum Antrum*" (Horace *Carm.* 1.5).

Officers of the CLLV are: President, Prof. E. L. Crum, Lehigh University; Vice-President, Mrs. J. Howard Worth, Moravian Preparatory School; Sec.-Treas., Dr. Mary L. Hess, Hellertown, Pa.; Program Chairman, Prof. J. A. Maurer, Lehigh University.

The **Seventh University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference** will be held at Lexington, April 22-24, 1954; Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles (Ancient Languages) is the Director, and Professors Hobart Ryland (Romance Languages) and Paul K. Whittaker (Germanic Languages) are Associate Directors.

In addition to the general sessions there will be sections for Classical Languages, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, Latin American Literature, Slavonic Languages, Biblical and Patristic Languages, Comparative Literature, Linguistics, High School Teaching of Classical Languages, High School Teaching of Modern Languages, Teaching of Languages in the Elementary School, Folklore, and International Relations.

If you are using

Using Latin, Book One

Scott, Foresman and Company's great new first year text
by Scott, Horn, and Gummere

Or if you would like some good extra reading

we are happy and proud to offer you on 35 mm. filmstrips the complete stories from this book, arranged by Waldo E. Sweet, Ph.D., Director of the Latin Workshop, Program of Linguistics, University of Michigan

A Teacher's Guide Book of instructions

is available to help you in teaching your students to learn how to read Latin according to the principles of scientific linguistics.

Write us for further details and prices.

TUTOR THAT NEVER TIRES, INC.

BRONXVILLE 8, NEW YORK

"RESPONDE MIHI" Recordings

"TEXT THAT TALKS" Filmstrips

The Sixth (1953) Conference drew an attendance of 610 persons from forty states and seven foreign countries. Thirty-four language areas, from Arabic to Vietnamese, were represented by individuals from 264 institutions. Lectures and papers to the number of 234 were offered in linguistic, literary, humane, social, historical, and pedagogical phases of thirty-two language areas.

Those wishing programs or wishing to offer papers (for 1954 or in the future) should write to Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, Director, Foreign Language Conference, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

The Florida State University has announced the offer of a number of Graduate Assistantships and Fellowships in Greek and Latin for the academic year 1954-55. Stipends for the Assistantships range from \$750 to \$1600, for the Fellowships, from \$600 to \$900. Graduate Fellowships are also available in the interdepartmental program in the Literature of the Western Cultures, sponsored jointly by the Departments of Classics, English, and Modern Languages. For application blanks and for further information, address Prof. Francis R.

Walton, Department of Classics, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

The Adult Education Program of St. John's College, Annapolis, has announced its 1954 seven-week Seminar-in Europe, featuring visits to selected cities for reading and discussion of some of the "Great Books" amid scenes associated with their subjects or authors. A group of approximately thirty members, under the leadership of a member of the St. John's faculty, will sail from New York on the *Andrea Doria* on July 1, reaching Naples July 9. There will be visits to Paestum, Sorrento, and Pompeii; and a three-night stay on Capri will provide apt setting for discussion of the *Odyssey*. Virgil's *Aeneid* and St. Augustine's *Confessions* will be the background illuminating and illuminated by the five-day visit to Rome and its environs (including Lake Nemi, Frascati, Tusculum, Subiaco, Tivoli). Later stops include Florence, Pisa, Lucerne, Paris, Tours, London, Canterbury, Stratford, and Edinburgh, with opportunities for classisists not only to refresh their acquaintance with the medieval and modern classics, but also to visit the classical collections in the great museums. Local scholars are invited to join

A CRUISE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND AEGEAN

June 15-August 16

Directed by Professor David M. Robinson, Ph.D., LL.D., L.H.D., D. Phil. of Thessalonica, Honorary Vice-president of the Archaeological Institute, formerly Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology at Johns Hopkins, now Professor of Classics at the University of Mississippi, author of some 35 books and 400 articles.

Lectures by other scholars at the places visited.

First class passengers will sail to Naples with Dr. and Mrs. Robinson on the *VULCANIA* June 15 from New York. Others will go by air or in various ways to Europe and all will meet in Rome after lectures in Perugia, Orvieto, Assisi, Florence (5 days), and other Etruscan sites. Five days (July 9-13) will be spent in Rome. Lectures at Pompeii, Herculaneum, Paestum, Sorrento, Capri.

July 15. From Naples all members of the summer seminar will sail on the new air-conditioned cruiser *PAGE* to visit Palermo, Syracuse, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Rhodes, Delos, Samos, Patmos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardinia, Lesbos, Troy, Istanbul, Samothrace (where excavations will be in progress), Saloniki and Olynthus (the Greek Pompeii), Skiros, Athens, Delphi, Eleusis, Corinth, Mycenae, Tiryns, Epidaurus, Knossos (where girls fought bulls), Corfu, Dubrovnik, Split, ending at Venice and living on the boat during the glamorous Festival of the Assumption. Thirty days cruise on the same boat. Entertainments of all kinds at night. Educational with college credit for students and scholars but open to all cultured persons.

Price \$1285 to \$2000 from New York to New York with shore excursions included.

For details write: PERSONS-LANDSEE TRAVEL SERVICE
129 Central Avenue
St. Petersburg, Florida

the group from time to time. The group will return to New York by air August 16.

The Seminar-in-Europe is a regular part of the St. John's Adult Education Program, and may, under certain circumstances, carry academic credits elsewhere. Persons interested in this and other aspects of the tour are invited to communicate with Dr. John S. Kieffer, Director of Adult Education, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

The first award of the recently established **New York Classical Club** scholarship for study at the Summer School of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens or the American Academy in Rome (cf. *CW* 47 [1953/54] 63) has been made to Mr. John F. Reilly, teacher at Sacred Heart High School, Yonkers, N. Y. Mr. Reilly plans to attend the 1954 summer session of the American Academy in Rome.

Gallery Talks and Lectures announced in the March, 1954 issue of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Calendar of Events* include the following talks of special interest

to classical students: March 5, "Travel in Greece: Athens—Ancient and Modern" (Stuart M. Shaw); March 6, "Byzantine Gold and Silver" (Irwin Scollar); March 12, "Travel in Greece: Athens—The Acropolis" (Mr. Shaw); March 19, "Travel in Greece—Samothrace" (Mr. Shaw); March 26, "Travel in Greece—Rhodes" (Mr. Shaw); March 27, "Medieval Sculpture" (Mr. Scollar). Mr. Shaw's lectures, featuring the Museum's new three-dimensional color slides in their first public showing, and continuing through April, will take place Fridays, at 3 P. M. Mr. Scollar's Saturday lectures are scheduled for 11 A. M.

The reconstructed galleries of Medieval Art (supplementing the collection at The Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park), Renaissance Art, and European Paintings have been opened to the public. The Museum Restaurant, accommodating 300 persons, was scheduled to open March 1.

The Museum is open weekdays 10-5, Sundays and holidays 1-5. The Research Library, Photograph Reference and Sales Offices, and Lending Collection are open Mondays through Fridays 10-5. The *Calendar of Events*, published monthly, through May, will be sent free of charge upon request.



ROMAN GAUL

By Olwen Brogan

With drawings by Edgar Holloway

This book is the first concise account in English of Roman Gaul—its history, chief monuments and towns, industries, commerce, art, and religion. It is an eminently readable survey of a long and complex period—six centuries, beginning with the Roman conquest of Gaul, which made their vital contribution to the development of France. "May be expected to remain a standard work for a long time."—*London Times*. "The most charming 'invitation au voyage' through time and space."—*Manchester Guardian*. 35 sketches, 16 pages of splendid photographs, end-paper map, bibliography, index.

\$4.25

At your bookstore, or

Harvard UNIVERSITY PRESS

44 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

